

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06
ACDA-07 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 IO-13 /079 W
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R 061305Z JAN 77
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6010
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMCONSUL ADANA
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
AMCONSUL IZMIR
USMISSION NATO
EUCOM
USDOCOSOUTH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ANKARA 0112

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, NATO, PINT, TU
SUBJECT: RPP ATTITUDES CONCERNING NATIONAL SECURITY AND FOREIGN
POLICY

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: THE NATIONAL SECURITY AND FOREIGN POLICY
SECTIONS OF THE NEW PROGRAM OF TURKEY'S LARGEST POLITICAL
PARTY, THE REPUBLICAN PEOPLE'S PARTY (RPP), SUGGEST THAT
THE RPP IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY NATIONALISTIC, LESS COMMITTED
TO THE WESTERN ALLIANCE, AND MORE IDEOLOGICAL IN ITS APPROACH
TO SUCH ISSUES. THESE TRENDS IN RPP THINKING ARE CONSISTENT
WITH RECENT WRITINGS AND STATEMENTS OF PARTY CHAIRMAN
ECEVIT, AND EMBODY THE LEFTIST-NATIONALIST POSITION THAT,
IN AN AGE OF DETENTE, THE PRIMARY THREAT TO TURKEY'S
INDEPENDENCE IS ENCROACHMENT ON TURKEY'S SOVEREIGNTY BY HER
ALLIES. ALTHOUGH IT IS NOT IN POWER, THE RPP HAS SIGNIFICANT
IMPACT ON TURKISH POLITICAL THINKING; THEREFORE, THE RPP
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BELIEF THAT TURKEY'S TIES WITH THE WEST THREATEN TURKISH
INDEPENDENCE WILL REMAIN A POTENTIALLY INHIBITING FACTOR
IN EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN THOSE TIES. END SUMMARY.

2. AT THE 23RD NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE REPUBLICAN PEOPLE'S
PARTY HELD IN LATE NOVEMBER, A NEWLY DRAFTED 371-PAGE PARTY
PROGRAM--PERSONALLY BACKED BY RPP CHAIRMAN ECEVIT--WAS

ADOPTED WITH ONLY MINOR CHANGES. WHILE MOST OF THE PROGRAM IS CONCERNED WITH DOMESTIC ISSUES, THE LAST 28 PAGES ARE DEVOTED TO NATIONAL SECURITY AND FOREIGN POLICY. DESPITE THE DELIBERATE VAGUENESS AND OVERBLOWN RHETORIC OF THE PROGRAM (QUALITIES COMMON TO MOST POLITICAL MANIFESTOS), THE FOLLOWING CONCEPTS EMERGE FROM THESE SECTIONS:

A. NATIONAL SECURITY. THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF A "NEW CONCEPT OF NATIONAL SECURITY" MUST INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

- TURKEY'S NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT SHOULD SUPPORT AND STRENGTHEN NATIONAL SECURITY AND VICE VERSA.
- TURKEY SHOULD NOT BE DEPENDENT ON OTHER COUNTRIES FOR HER NATIONAL SECURITY NEEDS.
- TURKEY HAS GIVEN MORE TO MUTUAL SECURITY THAN SHE HAS RECEIVED.
- TURKEY SHOULD IMPROVE HER RELATIONS WITH HER NEIGHBORS.
- NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY MUST BE IN HARMONY WITH FOREIGN POLICY.
- A NATIONAL DEFENSE INDUSTRY MUST BE ESTABLISHED.
- STRATEGICALLY IMPORTANT INDUSTRIES SHOULD BE STATE MONOPOLIES.
- THE ARMED FORCES SHOULD BE TRANSFORMED INTO A MODERN, MOBILE, CONFIDENTIAL

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WELL-EQUIPPED AND WELL-TRAINED FORCE RATHER THAN ONE THAT RELIES HEAVILY ON MANPOWER.

B. FOREIGN POLICY.

- INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ARE BECOMING MORE COMPLEX, MORE OPEN, AND MORE CLOSELY RELATED TO ECONOMIC AND DEFENSE POLICIES.
- TURKEY'S FOREIGN POLICY SHOULD BE BASED ON DETENTE, WORKING FOR WORLD PEACE AND STRENGTHENING THE UN.
- ALLIANCES REMAIN VALID AS LONG AS THEY CONTRIBUTE TO WORLD PEACE.
- TURKEY SHOULD EXPAND HER RELATIONS BEYOND CURRENT ALLIANCES.
- TURKEY IS A MIDDLE EASTERN, MEDITERRANEAN, AND BALKAN COUNTRY. AMONG THE COUNTRIES OF THESE REGIONS SHE SHOULD NOT ACT AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF ALLIANCES AND COMMUNITIES OF WHICH SHE IS A

MEMBER.

-- TURKEY SHOULD NOT FEEL INFERIOR TO GREAT POWERS.

-- TURKEY IS EXPERIENCED IN DIPLOMACY. COUNTRIES WISHING
TURKEY'S FRIENDSHIP SHOULD NOT SEEK IT FROM "DOCILE AND
CONFORMIST GOVERNMENTS".

--AN INFORMED PUBLIC OPINION ENABLES A GOVERNMENT TO RESIST
PRESSURES TO ACT CONTRARY TO NATIONAL INTERESTS.

-- IT IS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE FOR CAPITALIST REGIMES IN DEVELOPING
COUNTRIES TO BE DEMOCRATIC AND FREE BECAUSE OF "SUPRA-NATIONAL
CAPITALISM".

-- THE "DEMOCRATIC LEFT" CONCEPT OF THE RPP WILL ALLOW TURKEY
TO FOLLOW NATIONALIST ECONOMIC, FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICIES.
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TURKEY COULD NOT DO SO UNDER CAPITALISM.

-- THE RPP WILL PROTECT TURKEY'S SOVEREIGNTY OVER ITS
CONTINENTAL SHELF.

-- CYPRUS SHOULD BE A BIZONAL, INDEPENDENT, AND NON-ALIGNED
FEDERAL STATE.

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3. COMMENT: NONE OF THESE CONCEPTS IS TOTALLY NEW, BUT COMPARED WITH RPP POLICY STATEMENTS OF PAST YEARS, CERTAIN TRENDS IN RPP THINKING ARE APPARENT. THE MOST STRIKING OF THESE TRENDS ARE:

A. A HEIGHTENED SENSE OF NATIONALIST. ECEVIT OFTEN SPEAKS OF A "CONTEMPORARY CONCEPT OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY." THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN IT AND CONVENTIONAL NATIONALISM ARE NOT IMMEDIATELY APPARENT. THE RPP'S STRIDENCY ON THE AEGEAN ISSUE SEEMS TO EXEMPLIFY THIS CONCEPT.

B. A DIMINISHING INTEREST IN AND COMMITMENT TO THE WESTERN ALLIANCE. IN ITS 1973 ELECTION MANIFESTO, THE RPP ARGUED FOR AN IMPROVED NATIONAL DEFENSE CAPABILITY BUT THE CORNERSTONE OF ITS NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY WAS CONTINUED PARTICIPATION IN THE ALLIANCE. ALTHOUGH SUCH COMMITMENT IS IMPLIED IN THE NEW PROGRAM, IT IS NOT SPECIFIED.
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MOREOVER, THE LIST IN PARAGRAPH TWO OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE "NEW CONCEPT OF NATIONAL SECURITY" (WHICH DURING THE PAST YEAR HAS BECOME ONE OF ECEVIT'S OFTEN REPEATED THEMES) INDICATES GROWING RPP SENTIMENTS THAT NATIONAL SECURITY AND MUTUAL SECURITY ARE NOT TOTALLY COMPATIBLE AND THAT NATIONAL SECURITY MUST BE ASSIGNED PRIORITY.

C. THE INCREASING IMPORTANCE OF IDEOLOGY. PAST RPP STATEMENTS GENERALLY ADVOCATED THAT FOREIGN POLICY BE DIVORCED FROM IDEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS. NO SUCH STATEMENT APPEARS IN THE NEW PROGRAM. MOREOVER, THE "DEMOCRATIC LEFT" THEME SEEMS TO HAVE BECOME AN IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION IN FOREIGN AS WELL AS DOMESTIC POLICY.

4. THE NEW RPP PROGRAM CLEARLY BEARS THE PERSONAL IMPRINT OF PARTY CHAIRMAN BULENT ECEVIT. MANY OF THE PHRASES AND IDEAS IN THE FOREIGN POLICY AND SECURITY SECTIONS ARE TAKEN DIRECTLY FROM AN ARTICLE ON FOREIGN POLICY HE WROTE TWO YEARS AGO. MOREOVER, THE INCREASED IDEOLOGICAL CONTENT OF THE PROGRAM, THE SINGLING OUT OF CAPITALISM FOR CENSURE (COMMUNISM IS NOT MENTIONED), AND THE EMPHASIS ON A "CONTEMPORARY CONCEPT OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND A "NEW CONCEPT OF NATIONAL SECURITY" ARE ALL HALLMARKS OF ECEVIT'S THINKING AS REVEALED BY MORE

RECENT ARTICLES AND SPEECHES. (THIS ANALYSIS IS BASED ON THE DRAFT PROGRAM, AND ALTHOUGH THE DRAFT WAS MODIFIED SLIGHTLY AT THE CONGRESS, WE HAVE BEEN ADVISED THAT NO SIGNIFICANT CHANGES WERE MADE IN THE NATIONAL SECURITY AND FOREIGN POLICY SECTIONS. REGARDLESS, SINCE ECEVIT WAS THE PRIMARY AUTHOR, THE DRAFT PROGRAM PERHAPS GIVES A CLEARER INDICATION OF HIS THINKING THAN THE FINAL VERSION MIGHT.)

5. SINCE THE PROGRAM IS PRIMARILY A POLITICAL DOCUMENT AND IS DESIGNED, IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, TO GARNER VOTES RATHER THAN SET POLICY GUIDELINES, IT SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN LITERALLY. NEVERTHELESS, THE TRENDS NOTED IN PARAGRAPH THREE ARE PROBABLY VALID EXPRESSIONS OF AN INTENT BY ECEVIT AND THE RPP TO
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DECREASE TURKEY'S DEPENDENCE ON OTHER COUNTRIES. THIS INTENT, BORN OF AN UNDERSTANDABLE NATIONALISTIC DESIRE THAT TURKEY (A FORMER WORLD POWER) BE MASTER OF ITS FATE, IS NURTURED BY A PERCEPTION THAT IN AN AGE OF DETENTE, THE PRIMARY THREAT TO TURKEY'S INDEPENDENCE IS NO LONGER THE DANGER OF ATTACK FROM THE SOVIET UNION BUT ENCROACHMENT ON TURKEY'S SOVEREIGNTY BY HER ALLIES. ACTIONS SUCH AS THE U.S. ARMS EMBARGO AND THE UNWILLINGNESS OR INABILITY OF THE EC TO ACCOMMODATE TURKISH INTEREST, HAVE REINFORCED THE COMPANION BELIEF THAT TURKEY WILL NEVER BE COMPLETELY ACCEPTED BY THE WEST. TAKEN TOGETHER THESE ATTITUDES MANIFEST THEMSELVES IN A NARROW NATIONALISM HEIGHTENED BY A SENSE OF REJECTION.

6. ECEVIT AND HIS PARTY ARE BOTH LEADING AND RIDING THIS WAVE OF RESURGENT TURKISH NATIONALISM. THEY HAVE NOW MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY BELIEVE TURKEY'S NATIONAL INTERESTS MUST BE UNTRAMMELED BY ANY SUPRA-NATIONAL COMMITMENTS TO THE WESTERN ALLIANCE. EVEN THOUGH IT IS NOT IN POWER, THE RPP, BECAUSE IT IS TURKEY'S LARGEST POLITICAL PARTY AND BECAUSE IT HAS BROAD SUPPORT WITHIN THE MEDIA, HAS A MAJOR IMPACT ON THE PHILOSOPHICAL ATTITUDES OF TURKISH POLITICIANS AND BUREAUCRATS. THE CURRENT THRUST OF THAT IMPACT IS COUNTER TO A STRONG TURKISH SECURITY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE WEST. PARADOXICALLY, BECAUSE OF THE CONSTRAINTS OF OFFICE, THE RPP IN OPPOSITION MAY BE MORE WILLING TO LOOSEN TURKEY'S TIES TO THE ALLIANCE THAN IT WOULD BE IN POWER. IN EITHER EVENT, THE RPP WILL PROBABLY REMAIN A MAJOR PROPONENT OF THAT TREND UNLESS SOMETHING HAPPENS TO CHANGE ITS PERCEPTION OF THE THREAT TO TURKEY'S INDEPENDENCE.
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